

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS
RELATING TO THE PROJECTED BIG FOUR MEETING

A Compilation of Opinion Survey Findings
from West Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain

Background Report No. 1

May 25, 1955

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following presentation of public opinion trends relevant to the projected Four Power Conference is based upon survey returns from four major West European countries - West Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain. However, many of the findings are available for only one country - generally West Germany - and therefore due caution should be exercised in generalizing.

All of the findings precede the current conciliatory phase in Soviet policy. This fact should be taken into account on issues that would seem to be closely related to such considerations. Plans are underway to up-date all significant trends in a June Barometer go-round.

The number of cases varied in the surveys cited, but except in a few isolated instances totalled in excess of 600. The figures may therefore be taken as not likely to be off by as much as plus or minus six per cent, and hence adequate for the kind of broad deductions drawn from them.

In the interest of brevity and speed, respondents' reasons for opinions expressed and comparisons of various population groupings have not been touched upon. Such information can be furnished to interested individuals upon request.

In all surveys cited, interviewing was done by contract under local auspices such that American interest in the surveys was not apparent to bias responses in any way.

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Supplement, Presenting American Polling Results, to
USIA's "Some Psychological Factors Relating to
the Projected Big Four Meeting"

May 27, 1955

NO RECENT AMERICAN FIGURES ON MANUFACTURE,
But 74% would approve ban on "first" use
(although without a ban 44% would, in case of war,
prefer to use it "right away")
And 65% think it a "good idea" to ban H-bomb tests
Americans are quite divided on signing a simple ban on use
(For details, see p. 3 below)

AMERICANS TEND TO OPPOSE H-BOMBING ENEMY CITIES,
on questions which do not specify Russian non-use of
atomic weapons:

"Suppose the Russian army should attack one of our
allies in Western Europe. Would you approve or dis-
approve of our using hydrogen bombs against Russian
cities?"

January 1955	Approve	41%
	Disapprove	47
	No opinion	12
		<u>100%</u>

"If the Chinese Communists make an all-out attack on
Formosa, would you approve or disapprove of our using
hydrogen bombs against cities in China?"

January 1955	Approve	31%
	Disapprove	55
	No opinion	14
		<u>100%</u>

See also next page.

AMERICANS SEE U.S. AS TARGET--BUT NOT SOON

"Do you expect any hydrogen bombs to be dropped on
this country within the next two years (five years,
sooner or later)?"

<u>Jan.&March '55</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Two years	12%	77%	11%	100%
Five years	25	50	25	100
Sooner or later	51	41	8	100

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I. W A R, P E A C E A N D A T O M I C W E A P O N S

Widespread Fear of What an Atomic War Would Mean

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY APPROVES PROHIBITION OF ALL ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"Would you approve or disapprove of an East/West agreement prohibiting the manufacture of all atomic weapons?"

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>
No. of cases	<u>820</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
Approve	85%	87%	80%	71%
Disapprove	6	6	6	11
Qualified answer	1	1	-	6
No opinion	8	6	14	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OPPOSES EITHER STRATEGIC OR TACTICAL USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ..

"If Western Europe were attacked without the use of atomic or hydrogen bombs, would you approve or disapprove of the use of such bombs on enemy cities?"

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>
	<u>820</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
Approve	6%	5%	10%
Disapprove	85	75	71
No opinion	9	20	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Would you approve or disapprove of the use of atomic weapons on enemy soldiers at the front line, if Western Europe were attacked without use of atomic weapons?"

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>
	<u>820</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
Approve	8%	7%	9%
Disapprove	79	71	67
No opinion	13	22	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

TENDENCY PREVAILS TO SEE OWN COUNTRY LIKELIEST TARGET IN EVENT OF ATOMIC WAR ...

"In your opinion, on which countries would atom bombs or hydrogen bombs most likely be dropped in a war between East and West which involved atomic weapons?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>Great Britain</u>
	May '55	Feb '55	Feb. '55
	<u>618</u>	<u>820</u>	<u>805</u>
America	27%	29%	29%
Russia	33	34	29
Germany	41	42	17
England	9	19	39
France	7	12	15
Italy	-	2	3
All these countries	13	23	27
Other countries	9	5	8
All countries in world	-	-	4
No opinion	21	22	22
	<u>160%¹</u>	<u>188%¹</u>	<u>193%¹</u>

¹ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

However, Fears Are Subject to Moderating Factors

EVEN BEFORE NEW SOVIET PEACE OFFENSIVE, FEW FELT WORLD WAR LIKELY IN NEAR FUTURE ...

"Do you believe that there will be or will not be a world war in the next three or four years?"

	West Germany					France		Italy		Great Britain	
	Dec '53	June '54	Aug '54	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55
	488	579	867	836	820	851	900	808	814	832	805
Will be war	10%	22%	17%	13%	12%	7%	13%	9%	6%	11%	9%
Will not be war	70	56	60	66	62	55	44	43	41	47	60
Qualified answers	10	8	9	7	9	12	11	11	15	28	10
Don't know	10	14	14	14	17	26	32	37	38	14	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

AND PREPONDERANCE IN WEST GERMANY FELT USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS UNLIKELY IN EVENT OF WORLD WAR ...

"If a new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires - do you consider it more likely that atom and hydrogen bombs would be used or do you consider it more likely that both sides would avoid using atom and hydrogen bombs?"

May '54

	West Germany
	618
More likely that A and H bombs would be used	33%
More likely that A and H bombs would not be used	49
No opinion	18
	100%

ALSO FEW WEST GERMANS EVIDENCED FEAR THAT U.S. MIGHT BE TOO RASH IN USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"Do you believe that one can rely on America using atom and hydrogen bombs only in an extreme emergency, or do you believe that America might be too rash in using atom and hydrogen bombs?"

May '54

	West Germany
	618
Would use only in an extreme emergency	67%
Might use rashly	11
No opinion	22
	100%

SO, IN THE NET, FROM WHAT WEST GERMANS SAY, ONLY MINORITY (AS OF MID-1954) OPEN TO SOVIET BLACKMAIL ON U.S. BASES ...

"Supposing Russia should make the following offer to the West European countries: if the West European countries make America give up its bases in West Europe, Russia pledges itself not to drop atom or hydrogen bombs on West Europe. Would you like to see the West European nations accept such an offer, or reject it?"

May '54

	West Germany
	618
Accept offer	24%
Reject offer	52
No opinion	24
	100%

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Supplement, page 2

AMERICANS MORE EXPECTANT OF WAR THAN EUROPEANS,
But Less Than 30% See It In TWO Years

"Do you expect the United States to get into an all-out war with Russia within the next two years?"

	<u>Apr. '54</u>	<u>Sept. '54</u>	<u>Jan. '55</u>
Yes, in 2 years	29%	27%	28%
No	61	60	58
No opinion	10	13	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

AMERICANS DIFFER WITH GERMANS--EXPECT ATOMIC WEAPON USE

"In any future war with Russia, do you think atomic and hydrogen bombs would be used, or would both sides avoid using these weapons?"

January 1955	Would be used	61%
	Both would avoid	27
	No opinion	12
		<u>100%</u>

A Gallup Poll, published on April 3, 1955, dealt with a possible war with Communist China:

"If we should get into a war with Red China, do you think Atom Bombs will be used? Hydrogen Bombs?"

	<u>A-Bombs</u>	<u>H-Bombs</u>
Would be used	63%	46%
Would not	25	36
No opinion	12	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Making no mention of bombing cities, this same Gallup Poll found plurality approval for using nuclear weapons in a war with Communist China:

"If we should get into a war with Red China, do you think we SHOULD use Atom Bombs? Hydrogen Bombs?"

	<u>A-Bombs</u>	<u>H-Bombs</u>
Should use	55%	44%
No, should not	33	43
No opinion	12	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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Further Indications on Atomic Disarmament

STRIKING LACK OF AWARENESS OF WESTERN DISADVANTAGE IN AN ATOMIC WEAPONS BAN WITHOUT MORE GENERAL DISARMAMENT ...

"Do you see any disadvantages for the West if an international agreement on the ban of atomic weapons came about without a general disarmament on all other military weapons being achieved at the same time?"

Feb. '55	West Germany	France	Italy	Great Britain ¹
	<u>820</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
See disadvantages	15%	20%	15%	18%
See no disadvantages	58	35	36	35
Don't know	27	45	49	47
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PREDOMINANT PESSIMISM ON ATOMIC DISARMAMENT - AS MEASURED BEFORE RECENT SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL ...

"Do you feel that there is likely to be any agreement about atomic disarmament within approximately the next five years, or don't you think so?"

Feb. '55	West Germany	France	Italy	Great Britain
	<u>820</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
Agreement likely	26%	31%	20%	31%
Agreement unlikely	42	28	24	34
No opinion	32	41	56	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

WEST GERMANS DIVIDE ON WHETHER OR NOT AMERICA RELIES TOO HEAVILY ON ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"Do you have the impression that America relies too heavily on its atomic weapons in its defense plans, or do you believe that America should rely more on its atomic weapons?"

May '54	West Germany
	<u>618</u>
Relies too heavily on atomic weapons	27%
Should rely more on atomic weapons	10
Just right as they act now	26
No opinion	37
	<u>100%</u>

¹ Wording slightly different in Great Britain. Strictly comparable wording might have resulted in a somewhat higher proportion seeing disadvantages.

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Supplement, page 3

MAJORITY OF AMERICANS SEE DISADVANTAGE IN BAN
 44% oppose ban proposed in second question below
 11% qualify their approval of ban
 12% say they see disadvantages, but favor ban
 67% see disadvantages

Jan. 1955 - "Russia has proposed that all countries should sign an agreement promising never to use atomic or hydrogen bombs. Do you think the Russians would live up to their promise if such an agreement were signed?"

Yes, live up 13% No 77% No opinion 10%

"Do you think the United States should, or should not, sign such an agreement with Russia and all other countries, in which all would promise never to use atomic or hydrogen bombs?"

U.S. should sign	38%
Qualified approval*	11
Should not sign	44
No opinion	7
	<u>100%</u>

* Most frequent qualification was "if adequate safeguards to ensure enforcement."

Sub-question asked of those who said "should sign":
 "Do you see any disadvantages to our signing such an agreement?"

Yes 12% No 26% Total 38%

BAN ON "FIRST" USE

March 1955 - "Would you approve or disapprove of the United States making an agreement that, if war breaks out, we won't use atomic or hydrogen bombs if other countries don't?"

Approve 74% Disapprove 22% No opinion 4%

But when no such ban mentioned:

January 1955 - "If we had a war with Russia, do you think we should use the hydrogen bomb right away, or should we use it only if they use it first?"

Use right away	44%
Only if they do first	41
Never use it (volunteered)	4
No opinion	11
	<u>100%</u>

BAN ON TESTS

March 1955 - Asked of the 80% who favor continuance of hydrogen bomb tests: "Do you think it would be a good idea, or a bad idea, if all countries, including Russia and the United States, would sign an agreement to stop any further H-bomb tests?"

Good idea 50%* Bad idea 27% No opin. 3% Total 80%

* An additional 15% favor stopping the tests now.

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II. THE THREAT OF SOVIET MILITARY AGGRESSION

Meager Indications Available Reveal Following on Reaction to Soviet Threat:

LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN SOVIET PEACEFULNESS (AS OF FEB. 1955) ...

"Is Russia (USSR) doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

	West Germany			France		Italy		Great Britain	
	Dec '53	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55
	500	836	820	851	900	808	814	832	805
Yes, Russia is	9%	13%	9%	16%	16%	21%	16%	13%	17%
No, Russia is not	66	65	59	37	38	28	26	48	44
Don't know	25	22	32	47	46	51	58	39	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

AND IN FRANCE, GREATER FEAR REGISTERED OF USSR THAN OF GERMANY ...

"Which of the following countries do you believe represent a danger to France: England, U.S.A., Germany, U.S.S.R., Italy?"

Feb. '55	France (900 cases)			... 100%
	Yes	No	Don't know	
England	3%	63%	34%	
U.S.A.	18	48	34	
Germany	30	31	39	
U.S.S.R.	40	25	35	
Italy	4	60	36	

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Factors Maintaining Morale in Face of Soviet Threat

EVIDENCE OF INCREASING WEST GERMAN CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN SOLDIERS ...

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
	Jan '53	Jan '54
	<u>1600</u>	<u>1600</u>
Well	43%	48%
Fairly well	18	17
Poorly	18	14
Undecided	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>
	100%	100%

WIDESPREAD CONFIDENCE IN ULTIMATE VICTORY OF WEST IN WEST GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN -- LESS IN FRANCE AND ITALY ...

"Which, do you think, ultimately has the better chance to win the East/West struggle: The Communist Powers or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>France</u>		<u>Italy</u>		<u>Great Britain</u>	
	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55
	<u>836</u>	<u>820</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>808</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>832</u>	<u>805</u>
Communist Powers	10%	9%	9%	Not	11%	8%	6%	4%
Western Powers	50	45	18	asked	28	29	55	55
Both equal chances	11	21	21	in	16	27	12	15
Don't know	<u>29</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>52</u>	France	<u>45</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>26</u>
	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%	100%

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Other Opinion Relating to Threat of Soviet
Military Aggression and to U.S. Bases Abroad

FEW SEE NATO AGGRESSIVE IN PURPOSE ...

"Is it your impression that the main purpose of NATO is defensive or offensive?" (Asked only of respondents who indicated having heard of NATO.)

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u> 820	<u>France</u> 900	<u>Italy</u> 814	<u>Great Britain</u> 805
Defensive	45%	20%	46%	52%
Offensive	2	6	13	3
Qualified answer	3	3	-	5
Don't know	8	8	13	11
	<u>58%</u>	<u>37%</u>	<u>72%¹</u>	<u>71%</u>

AND LARGE MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS (AS OF JAN. '55) WANT U.S. SOLDIERS TO REMAIN ...

"Taking everything into consideration, should the American Forces leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

Jan. '54	<u>West Germany</u> 1600
Leave	15%
Stay on	71
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>

BUT WEST GERMAN OPINIONS DIVIDE ON STATIONING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS IN GERMANY ...

"Do you approve of America having stationed atomic weapons here in West Germany, or don't you approve?" (After all unaware told - "For some time America has had atomic weapons stationed here in West Germany, such as cannons with atomic shells and remote-controlled carrier planes with atomic weapons.")

May '54	<u>West Germany</u> 618
Approve	35%
Don't approve	39
No opinion	26
	<u>100%</u>

¹ Sixty-nine per cent had heard of NATO in Italy. Present figure is 72% as a few respondents gave more than one answer.

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Supplement, page 4
(to accompany USIA page 6)

HALF OF AMERICANS HAVE HEARD OF NATO
AND MANY MORE APPROVE ITS FUNCTION

April 1953 - "Have you heard or read anything about the
North Atlantic Treaty Organization--sometimes
called NATO?"

Yes	53%	No	47%	Total	100%
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May 1954 - "As you know, the United States has an agree-
ment with the countries of western Europe, to defend
each other against any attack. How do you feel about
this treaty--Is it a good idea or a bad idea?"

Good	86%	Bad	6%	No opinion	8%
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AMERICANS APPROVE STATIONING TROOPS IN EUROPE

September 1954 - "How do you feel about the number of
American troops stationed in Europe--In general,
do you feel we have too many troops there now,
about the right number, or should we send more?"

Too many now	11%
About right now	54
Send more	9
No opinion	26
	<u>100%</u>

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III. N E U T R A L I S M

West European Hopes and Fears Find Most
Disquieting Expression in Area of Neutralism

COLD-WAR NEUTRALISM UP SHARPLY IN GREAT BRITAIN ...

"At the present time, do you personally think that (name of own country) should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

	West Germany			France			Italy			Great Britain		
	Sept	Oct	Feb	Sept	Oct	Feb	Sept	Oct	Feb	Sept	Oct	Feb
	'52	'54	'55	'52	'54	'55	'52	'54	'55	'52	'54	'55
	1591	836	820	1345	851	900	1505	808	814	1503	832	805
West	58%	60%	56%	42%	36%	Not	40%	40%	38%	57%	59%	45%
East	-	*	1	4	2	asked	3	4	2	-	2	1
Neither side	31	31	36	43	39	in	42	39	43	28	29	40
No opinion	11	9	7	11	23	France	15	17	17	15	10	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than half of one per cent.

AND "CRISIS NEUTRALISM" GENERALLY ON THE RISE ...

"And if it should come to a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, do you think this country should take a side or not take a side? Which side?"

	West Germany			France			Italy			Great Britain		
	Sept	Oct	Feb	Sept	Oct	Feb	Sept	Oct	Feb	Sept	Oct	Feb
	'52	'54	'55	'52	'54	'55	'52	'54	'55	'52	'53	'54
	1591	836	820	1345	851	900	1505	808	814	1503	832	805
USSR	-%	*%	1%	4%	2%	Not	4%	4%	3%	-%	1%	1%
US	52	38	39	36	22	asked	36	29	32	58	52	48
Not take side	37	53	51	45	54	in	48	50	51	32	36	40
No opinion	11	9	9	15	22	France	12	17	14	10	11	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Supplement page 5
(to accompany USIA page 8)

AMERICANS AS FAMILIAR WITH "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" AS BRITONS;
BUT LESS APPROVING OF IT AS POLICY

A Gallup Poll, published January 7, 1955, reported on two questions:

"Have you heard or read anything about the term
'peaceful co-existence'?"

Yes	41%	No	59%	Total	100%
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"Generally speaking, do you think the idea of
'peaceful co-existence' is a good policy or
a poor policy for this country to follow?"

Good policy	26%
Poor policy	10
No opinion	<u>5</u>
% Familiar	41%

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IV. P E A C E F U L C O E X I S T E N C E

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" HAS CAPTURED ONLY LIMITED ATTENTION AS A SLOGAN, BUT -
ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION - ELICITS FAVORABLE REACTIONS ...

"Have you heard the expression 'peaceful coexistence'?"

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u> <u>820</u>	<u>France</u> <u>900</u>	<u>Italy</u> <u>814</u>	<u>Great Britain</u> <u>805</u>
Yes	29%	32%	26%	40%
No, or Don't know	<u>71</u> 100%	<u>68</u> 100%	<u>74</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%

"Are you for or against 'peaceful coexistence' as you understand the term?" (Asked only of those who said they had heard the expression.)

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u> <u>820</u>	<u>France</u> <u>900</u>	<u>Italy</u> <u>814</u>	<u>Great Britain</u> <u>805</u>
For	20%	25%	24%	36%
Against	2	1	1	-
Qualified answer	1	2	-	1
No opinion	<u>6</u> 29%	<u>4</u> 32%	<u>1</u> 26%	<u>3</u> 40%

LITTLE INDICATION OF SOVIET SUCCESS IN STAKING A CLAIM ON THE SLOGAN ...

"As far as you know, has the Soviet Union used this expression to describe its international aims, or hasn't it done so?" (Asked only of those who said they had heard the expression.)

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u> <u>820</u>	<u>France</u> <u>900</u>	<u>Italy</u> <u>814</u>	<u>Great Britain</u> <u>805</u>
Yes, has used	13%	16%	16%	14%
No, has not used	5	4	2	8
Don't know	<u>11</u> 29%	<u>12</u> 32%	<u>8</u> 26%	<u>18</u> 40%

AND AMONG THE FEW AWARE OF SOVIET USE, OPINIONS SPLIT FOR AND AGAINST WHAT IS
THOUGHT TO BE SOVIET MEANING OF THE TERM ...

"Are you for or against what you think the Soviet Union means by the term?" (Asked only of those who are aware of Soviet use of the slogan.)

Feb. '55	<u>West Germany</u> <u>820</u>	<u>France</u> <u>900</u>	<u>Italy</u> <u>814</u>	<u>Great Britain</u> <u>805</u>
For	3%	7%	7%	7%
Against	7	5	6	3
Qualified answer	1	2	-	2
No opinion	<u>2</u> 13%	<u>2</u> 16%	<u>3</u> 16%	<u>2</u> 14%

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V. BIG FOUR CONFERENCE AND GERMAN REUNIFICATION

OCTOBER FINDINGS HIGHLIGHT WHAT PAST STUDIES HAVE REVEALED WITHOUT EXCEPTION
- MARKED DESIRE FOR AN EAST-WEST CONFERENCE ...

"Supposing Russia suggests a new East/West conference on the German problem, would you like the West to accept or reject such a proposal at this time?"

Oct. '54	<u>West Germany</u> 836	<u>France</u> 851	<u>Italy</u> 808	<u>Great Britain</u> 832
Accept	64%	56%	46%	54%
Reject	21	10	16	25
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>21</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

DANGER OF INFLATED CONFERENCE HOPES SHOULD BE ESTIMATED IN LIGHT OF MODERATION OF EXPECTATIONS IN OCTOBER (AND IN PRIOR GERMAN STUDIES) ...

"At such a conference what do you think would be the chances of solving the German problem in a way acceptable to the West?"

Oct. '54	<u>West Germany</u> 836	<u>France</u> 851	<u>Italy</u> 808	<u>Great Britain</u> 832
Very good and good	10%	5%	7%	23%
Fair	27	17	12	28
Poor and very poor	42	29	27	21
Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>28</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

MOST WEST GERMANS TRUST AMERICA - FEW TRUST FRANCE - TO STRIVE FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION AT CONFERENCE ...

"Do you feel that America would enter into such a Four Power conference with the intention to really strive for a reunification of Germany, or do you believe that America has no such intention? And how about England ...? And now let's turn to France ...?"

July '53

	<u>Asked in West Germany (625 cases)</u>		
About:	<u>America</u>	<u>England</u>	<u>France</u>
Has this intention	75%	47%	13%
Has no such intention	7	20	51
No opinion	<u>18</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>36</u>
	100%	100%	100%

HOWEVER, FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION MORE APPROVING THAN DISAPPROVING OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION ...

"Do you favor or oppose reunification of Germany?"

Feb. '55	<u>France</u> 900
Favor	35%
Oppose	26
Don't know	<u>39</u>
	100%

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Supplement page 6
(to accompany USIA page 9)

MORE AMERICANS FAVOR BIG FOUR MEETING
Than Europeans Favor "East/West Conference on German Problem."

May 1-10, 1955 - "Do you think it would be a good idea, or a bad idea, for President Eisenhower to meet with the heads of the Russian, British and French governments, sometime soon?"

Good idea	78%
Bad idea	12
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS ARE LIMITED

May 1955 - "If these men did get together personally, do you think they would be able to reach agreement on any of the big problems in the world?"

Yes	53%
No	37
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

Those who answered YES were asked:
"Do you think we could count on Russia to live up to any such agreements?"

Yes, count on	13%
No	31
No opinion	9
Total saying "would be able to reach agreement"	<u>53%</u>

2 OUT OF 5 AMERICANS AWARE OF REUNIFICATION PLANS (IN 1952)

April 1952 - "As you know, Germany has been divided since the end of the war, with the western half under allied control and the eastern half under Russian control. Have you heard or read anything about plans to let the Germans choose a single government of their own for all of Germany?"

Yes 38% No 62%

(Additional data on reunification on following page)

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VI. WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION VERSUS A
NEUTRAL REUNIFIED GERMANY

PREPONDERANT APPROVAL - EXCEPT IN FRANCE - OF GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN
DEFENSE

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military
participation in the defense of West Europe?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>France</u>		<u>Italy</u>		<u>Great Britain</u>	
	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Oct '54	Feb '55
	<u>836</u>	<u>820</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>808</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>832</u>	<u>805</u>
For	61%	50%	35%	29%	42%	48%	49%	50%
Against	22	39	37	43	22	20	29	31
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>19</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

HOWEVER, ALTERNATIVE OF A NEUTRAL REUNIFIED GERMANY CARRIES POTENT APPEAL FOR
WEST GERMANS ...

"Suppose the Russians proposed that Germany be reunited, with
free elections, but could not enter alliances with either the
West or the East: Which would you prefer - this suggestion or
present plans to incorporate West Germany into Western defense?"

Oct. '54	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>
	<u>836</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>808</u>	<u>832</u>
Prefer Russian suggestion	33%	14%	23%	12%
Prefer present Western plans	44	34	35	50
Don't know	<u>23</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>38</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Supplement page 7
(to accompany USIA page 10)

AMERICANS APPROVE GERMANY'S STATUS

November 1954 - "The United States Senate is now considering two treaties under which West Germany would become independent and would be allowed to rearm. Do you think the Senate should or should not approve these treaties?"

Senate should approve	59%
Should not	25
Independence only	4
No opinion	12
	<u>100%</u>

AMERICANS THINK REUNIFICATION IN OUR INTEREST (1952)

April 1952 - "If Germany was united under a single government of her own, do you think she would work more closely with our side, or more closely with the Russians?"

Our side	47%
Russians	17
Neither	16
No opinion	20
	<u>100%</u>

April 1952 - "Which do you think would be better for the United States--to have Germany divided as it is now, or to have both parts of Germany united under their own government?"

Divided	24%
United	53
No opinion, no difference	23
	<u>100%</u>

Prepared by
Public Studies Division
Department of State

P:PS:HSFoster:mb

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ODER/NEISSE ISSUE REMARKABLY EFFECTIVE IN MAKING NEUTRALIZATION PROPOSALS UNACCEPTABLE TO GERMANS ...

"Supposing Russia should demand, as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections, that Germany acknowledge the Oder/Neisse line as a final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you, under these circumstances, be rather for or rather against an immediate reunification?"

Dec. '53

	<u>West Germany</u>
	<u>601</u>
For it	13%
Against it	69
No opinion	18
	<u>100%</u>

AND PREPONDERANCE EXPECT TO REGAIN LOST EASTERN TERRITORIES IN TIME, REFUSING ON THIS ISSUE TO RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE ...

"Do you believe that Germany, in the course of time, will recover the lost Eastern territories, or not?"

Mar. '52

	<u>West Germany</u>
	<u>1200</u>
Yes, will recover them	61%
No, will not recover them	16
Qualified answer	6
No opinion	17
	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing the Western Powers should give a security guarantee to Russia against an attack from the West, and among other points this security guarantee should contain the point that Germany is pledged not to make any efforts to get the lost territories east of the Oder/Neisse line back by force - would you approve of this, or wouldn't you?"

Jan. '54

	<u>West Germany</u>
	<u>309</u>
Approve of it	37%
Don't approve of it	46
No opinion	17
	<u>100%</u>

¹ In advance of further study and a more extensive sampling, this finding should be taken as more suggestive than conclusive.

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VII. D A N G E R O F C O M M U N I S T S U B V E R S I O N

PREPONDERANCE IN '52 JUDGED COMMUNIST PARTY SUBVERSIVE IN CASE OF WAR ...

"If your country were at war with Russia, what do you think most of the (name of country) Communists would do: try to help Russia or help defend our country?"

Sept. '52	West Germany	France	Italy	Great Britain
	<u>1591</u>	<u>1345</u>	<u>1505</u>	<u>1503</u>
Russia	59%	48%	47%	56%
Our country	16	10	13	16
Help neither side	-	11	11	9
No opinion, no answer	25	31	29	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'55 FINDINGS INDICATE MAJORITY FEEL COMMUNIST PARTY WHOLLY OR PARTLY CONTROLLED BY MOSCOW ...

"Do you think (name of own country) Communist Party is an independent party or is it controlled by the Soviet Union?" If latter - "Completely or partly controlled?"

Feb. '55	West Germany	France	Italy	Great Britain
	<u>820</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
Independent	5%	11%	12%	19%
Partly controlled	28	28	26	40
Completely controlled	49	26	36	13
Don't know	18	35	26	28
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

HOWEVER, MORE FEEL COMMUNISTS LOSING GROUND THAN GAINING IN WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ...

Feb. '55	West Germany	France	Italy	Great Britain
	<u>820</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>
Are gaining	5%	9%	22%	10%
Are losing	60	27	23	46
Remain the same	22	26	28	26
Don't know	13	38	27	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

VIII. A NOTE ON COMMUNIST CHINESE PARTICIPATION
IN THE PROJECTED CONFERENCE

WHEN EARLIER CONFRONTED WITH THIS ISSUE MOST GERMANS REGISTERED WIDESPREAD
OPPOSITION TO RED CHINESE PARTICIPATION ...

"As you may have heard or read, the Russians had suggested that the
Communist government of China take part as a 5th member in such a
conference at which all problems existing between the Communists and
the other countries should be discussed - including, of course, the
German problem. Would you agree with that or would you disagree?"

Dec. 1953	<u>West Germany</u>
	<u>601</u>
Agree	12%
Disagree	61
No opinion	<u>27</u>
	100%